

THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

JANUARY 1966 -- JUNE 1966



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
John Edgar Hoover, Director

THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

January 1966--June 1966

July 1966

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**Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
John Edgar Hoover, Director**

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PREFACE

This monograph sets forth the position the Communist Party, USA, has taken on major issues of national and international interest:

The publications reviewed to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, include the twice-weekly newspaper The Worker and the monthly magazine Political Affairs.

With reference to the transcription of the quotations used to support the summary statements at the beginning of each section, misspellings have been underlined. Nothing has been done to point out errors in grammar, punctuation, capitalization, et cetera.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Summary

The Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), continues its propaganda campaign against United States foreign policy. The U.S. is portrayed as an aggressive nation "essaying the vain role of global policeman to suppress revolution and to preserve the capitalist-colonial status quo." According to the Party, this policy is a danger to world peace, but it is futile; it is out of step with present reality, since more and more the forces of socialism determine the course of human events.

The Party's chief foreign-policy objective is to bring about the withdrawal of U.S. military forces from South Vietnam. The communists charge that the purpose of U.S. presence there is not to defend democracy and freedom but to maintain military domination in Southeast Asia and to increase profits for Wall Street.

The CPUSA asserts that the majority of the American people want the war halted; that the only people who endorse the escalation of the bombings are the "ultra-rightists in the Republican party, the Southern racists in the Democratic party, the rabid fascist hate-groups and the desperate generals and admirals who are hunting vainly for a 'victory.' "

United States policy is likened to that of Nazi Germany during World War II. The Party speciously asks: "Is there any

difference between what the Nazis did then and what U.S. airmen, now under orders from the Johnson administration, are doing now to the cities of North and South Vietnam?"

The South Vietnamese, the Party insists, want American troops withdrawn; the occupation of their land by the U.S. has created mass discontent; they want a civil government that will erase all the evils brought by Washington.

The Party calls on every American who cherishes his fellow man to protest "openly and with all his strength" the continuation of the bombings and to demand that they be halted at once. Only thus, it says, can we retrieve our membership in the human race.

The only way the U.S. can restore peace in Vietnam, the Party states, is by negotiating with the National Liberation Front. The charge is made that Washington refuses to do this because it would be recognition of the fact that the U.S. is engaged in a war of invasion against the people of South Vietnam.

According to the Party, the crimes of aggression against Vietnam today were committed against the Dominican Republic yesterday and against Cuba the day before. It is claimed that the U.S. had a "hand in the strangulation of the Congo" and that the "dagger in Ghana's heart has Washington's fingerprints on the handle." The United States is accused of reckless, war-fomenting maneuvers in Latin America and in the Middle East. The "recent

assassination plot" against Cuban Premier Fidel Castro is cited as an example in the former area; U.S. action in Syria, in the latter. The Party says there are indications that U.S. aggression will spread to Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, and all of Southeast Asia.

The CPUSA asserts that it seeks to change U.S. foreign policy and direct it toward peaceful coexistence. The fight for peaceful coexistence, the Party says, entails the fight for the recognition of Communist China, its admission to the United Nations, and an end to the embargo on trade. The Party warns that the U.S. is under strong misapprehensions if it assumes that China will receive no aid from the "socialist" countries in the event the U.S. exploits the ideological differences within the international Marxist movement to provoke war with China.

Most of our Nation's problems, real or imagined, are attributed by the communists directly to the war in Vietnam or to our social system, or both. For example, the Great Society is being sacrificed for the war; only social inequity produces poverty; each malnourished child, each substandard dwelling is a witness to the defects of our social system; the police appear in the ghettos as an army of occupation of the "corporate Establishment" and brutalize the residents.

As always, the Party claims that the ultimate solution to the many problems that beset this country is "socialism." It is predicted

that socialism will come when the majority of the American people are convinced that there is no other solution.

The CPUSA advocates the formation of a new "people's party" to challenge monopoly on fundamental and critical issues. The party would be made up of the working class, Negroes, independent farmers, intellectuals, professionals, owners of small businesses, youth, and other groups.

The Party theorizes that the various groups share common interests with the working class, whose historic goal--the communists say--is to effect the transformation of society from capitalist to socialist. For example, the Negro people are predominantly of the working class and are destined to join with labor in pursuit of a common future free of capitalist exploitation and capitalist racial oppression. Also, small and middle farmers can struggle more effectively in alliance with the working class, since they are no longer a leading force in the battle against the trusts. In addition, intellectuals have become "glorified wage laborers" and find themselves in economic conflict with corporate power. They, too, have common cause with the working class and its allies.

The CPUSA emphasizes the role it sees for youth. It says that youth, particularly Negro youth, have become critical of the whole nature and structure of capitalist society and have gained wide experience with the "class nature of the capitalist state and how its police and court system defends its privilege

and power." It is pointed out that Negro youth have gained much experience in building organizations, cultivating unity, and forging alliances with a wide stratum of white people. The Party claims that the youth have sparked the civil rights drive, have struggled against U.S. imperialist aggression, and have started probing a new path to socialism. Students, too, have a part. They, struggling against high tuition costs and militarism, should ally themselves with the working class in order to solve mutual problems and to build socialism.

B. Conclusions

1. The CPUSA can be expected to continue its propaganda campaign against United States efforts to halt communist aggression in Southeast Asia.
2. Repeal of the McCarran Act, abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and status as a legitimate political party remain CPUSA objectives.
3. The Party will continue to exploit man's desire for peace, issues of interest to labor, and the aspirations of the Negro for social, economic, and political equality. The CPUSA has announced that it must "come forward as the best fighter for Negro equality."
4. Much Party activity can be expected to be centered around its call for a "people's coalition at the polls" to retire the "war-hawks" Congress in 1966. Also advocated is a campaign to present an independent presidential candidate in 1968. Such a campaign started now, the communists say, could serve as a mobilization for peace.

5. The communists undoubtedly will make further efforts to attract the youth of this country to the Party and further claims that the efforts are meeting with success.

I. FOREIGN POLICY--The Communist Party Line

1. The world transition to socialism is gaining momentum. More and more the forces of socialism determine the course of human events. U.S. foreign policy is at odds with this changing reality but cannot halt the tide.
2. U.S. military aggression in Vietnam is a danger to world peace. The Johnson administration is engaged in reckless schemes that threaten to involve the American people in more wars of the Vietnam type. War-fomenting maneuvers are carried out in Cuba, and U.S. actions in Syria could ignite war in the Middle East.
3. The National Liberation Front (NLF), without doubt, has the largest following of the South Vietnamese people. The only way peace can be negotiated is by dealing with the NLF.
4. The presence of U.S. military forces has created mass discontent among the Vietnamese people, and they want these forces withdrawn.
5. The American people want U.S. troops withdrawn from Vietnam now.
6. Is there any difference between what the Nazis did during World War II and what U.S. airmen are doing now in North and South Vietnam?
7. The fight for peaceful coexistence entails the fight for recognition of People's China, for its admission to the United Nations, and for an end to the senseless total embargo on trade.
8. That China would receive no aid from the socialist countries if the U.S., exploiting ideological differences within the international Marxist movement, provokes war with China is a false assumption.
9. French President de Gaulle's visit to the Soviet Union shows the soundness of the Soviet Union's policy of peaceful coexistence.

The countries of Western Europe no longer want to be tied to Washington's bankrupt policy. They want to improve trade relations with the socialist countries.

10. Every American must use all his strength to protest the bombings in Vietnam.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. U. S. Policy at Odds with Changing Reality

"World Balance Shifts Against Imperialism--from New Draft Program, CPUSA"

" 'The balance of power in the world is shifting. The new forces of socialist and anti-colonial revolution are on the ascendant. The old forces of capitalism and imperialism are on the decline. More and more the forces of socialism determine the course of human events. U. S. policy is at odds with this changing reality. . . . ' "

The Worker,
March 15, 1966, p. 6.

" 'U. S. foreign policy is dangerous, reprehensible--and also futile. The military and economic power commanded by U. S. corporate giants may, here and there, slow the revolutionary tide or temporarily divert it into eddies, but it cannot halt the tide. ' "

The Worker,
March 20, 1966, p. 8.

"... The world transition to socialism is not slowing to a halt. . . It is gaining momentum as labor and national liberation organizations grow, as the lineup resisting U. S. imperialism broadens, as the

relative economic, political, moral and military weight of existing socialist countries increases. "

The Worker,
June 5, 1966, p. 8.

2. U. S. Aggression Endangers World Peace

"OMINOUS REPORTS trickling out of Washington indicate that the Johnson administration intends to spread the aggression against Vietnam to Thailand, Cambodia and Laos, in fact to all of Southeast Asia.

"At the beginning of 1965, President Johnson claimed: 'Our goal is peace in Southeast Asia.' But 1966 will begin with the menace of war in all of Southeast Asia, initiated by the triumvirate of President Johnson, Defense Secretary Robert McNamara and Secretary of State Dean Rusk, and increase the peril of sucking the world into a nuclear holocaust. "

The Worker,
January 2, 1966, p. 3.

"Our foreign policy of aggression, intrigue and subversion has become the nuclear time bomb ticking away at the brink. What is needed is an about-face in our foreign policy. Thus our program states:

"At this writing U.S. military aggression in Vietnam represents the most clear and present danger to world peace. The supreme challenge of the moment, in the fight for world peace is to halt U.S. aggression, to end U.S. military occupation of South Vietnam, so that the Vietnamese people can decide their own destiny. . . . "

Gus Hall, "The Communist
Program--The Path Ahead,"
Political Affairs,
March, 1966, p. 7.

"'The crisis in foreign policy overshadows all others. And for good reason. If in other spheres error may be rectified, here it can prove fatal. Thermonuclear weapons make world peace the issue of survival, the precondition for rational solution of all other problems. But U.S. foreign policy, instead of diminishing the ultimate peril, magnifies it. As presently constituted, essaying the vain role of global policeman to suppress revolution and to preserve the capitalist-colonial status quo, it is headed toward suicidal collision.' "

The Worker,
March 6, 1966, p. 8.

"Six thousand men and women in the Kremlin's Palace of Congresses applauded an American Negro leader again and again as he denounced U. S. imperialism and Washington's dirty war in Vietnam.

"The speaker was Henry Winston..."

" 'These crimes of aggression which the U.S. imperialists so brazenly commit against Vietnam today, they committed against the Dominican Republic yesterday, and against Cuba the day before.

" 'They had a hand in the strangulation of the Congo, and the dagger in Ghana's heart has Washington's fingerprints on the handle.' "

The Worker,
April 10, 1966, p. 4.

"THE JOHNSON administration is not limiting itself to the invasion of Vietnam in its effort to maintain and expand the grasp of Wall Street imperialism on Asia, Africa and Latin America.... it is engaged in reckless maneuvers and schemes that threaten to involve the American people in more bloody wars of the Vietnam type.

"The recent assassination plot against Cuban Premier Fidel Castro and the provocative incidents emanating from Guantanamo Base... are the latest manifestation of these war-fomenting maneuvers.

"A few days ago, the government of Syria appealed to the UN Security Council to probe Washington's actions in the Middle East...."

"The Johnson administration's actions against Syria are part of a plot that could ignite a full-scale bloody war in the Middle East into which the American people will be sucked, despite their wishes."

The Worker,
June 5, 1966, p. 3.

3. Negotiate with National Liberation Front--Represents Majority

"... If one is to respect the wishes and desires of the Vietnamese people for the right of self-determination and to have their own government, and if peace is to be negotiated, this can only be done by dealing with representatives of the Vietnamese, in the National Liberation Front.

"Nobody in his wildest moments or in any objective statement has ever dared to claim that the present puppet premier, Ky, is a spokesman for or a representative of the Vietnamese people."

The Worker,
February 6, 1966, p. 12.

"... The NLF, without doubt, has the largest following of the South Vietnamese people..."

The Worker,
March 1, 1966, p. 8.

"... the Johnson Administration is not unaware of the real strength and influence of the National Liberation Front. It knows that the NLF is the

only stable political force in the country and has the allegiance of the overwhelming majority of the peasantry...."

Betty Gannett, "The Genocidal War," Political Affairs, April, 1966, p. 26.

"If President Johnson were really interested in an exchange of prisoners or any other aspect of this problem, he would be negotiating with the National Liberation Front, which captured them. That's exactly what the government of North Vietnam told the International Red Cross, which the President is trying to use as a tool to get him off the hook with the American people.

"But President Johnson stubbornly refuses to do this because it would be recognition of the fact he is engaged in a dirty war of invasion against the people of South Vietnam, a war which is both immoral and illegal."

The Worker,
May 10, 1966, p. 2.

4. South Vietnamese Want U.S. Troops Withdrawn

"THE DEMONSTRATIONS that have spread throughout the areas of South Vietnam occupied by U.S. military forces have now shifted from concentration on the removal of the military dictatorship of Air Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky to attacks on the Johnson administration as the main source of Vietnam's horrible plight as the result of Washington's dirty war."

"The occupation of their land by the U.S. military forces has created a mass discontent among the people, who want a new civilian government that will erase all the evils brought by Washington...."

The Worker,
April 5, 1966, p. 1.

"MORE THAN 7, 000 Saigon trade unionists, farmers and students demonstrated last Sunday, May Day, against U. S. military occupation of part of South Vietnam. . . ."

"If the U. S embassy officials watching the demonstration from their windows report truthfully to Johnson, he will learn how much the South Vietnamese, even in U. S. -occupied areas, want American troops withdrawn. . . ."

"The significant fact is that even in the areas occupied by U. S. troops the Ky dictatorship is unable to control the people. Johnson privately is well aware of this and has been forced to trim his escalation of the war because of the revolt in the U. S. -occupied areas. . . ."

The Worker,
May 8, 1966, p. 1.

5. American People Want War Halted

"THERE IS A RISING tide of rebellion in our land against any further continuation of President Johnson's 'dirty war' in Vietnam. The Ky crisis in South Vietnam has removed the last shred of credibility in the Johnson administration's Vietnam policy among large numbers of Americans who stifled their doubts in the vain hope that the 'President knows best.' Their doubts, long smoldering in discontent, are now bursting into revolt.

"This is the significance of the unprecedented rebellion against the President's Vietnam policy in his own party."

The Worker,
April 19, 1966, p. 2.

"The only people who back President Johnson in this escalation of the bombing of North Vietnam are the blood-thirsty ultra-rightists in the Republican party, the Southern racists in the Democratic party, the rabid

fascist hate-groups and the desperate generals and admirals who are hunting vainly for a 'victory.' "

"The American people want the bombing in Vietnam to be halted. But they will not get it halted unless they make it clear in no uncertain terms to Johnson and Congress that this is what they want."

The Worker,
April 24, 1966, p. 3.

"The American people don't want the dirty war in Vietnam escalated; they want it to be halted immediately; they want U.S. troops withdrawn from Vietnam now.

"The American people want their sons and brothers to come home alive and not crippled, not in coffins or on hospital ships. They want a chance to achieve for themselves and their families the better life that the resources and the treasures of their country should afford them. They want the freedom and the equality that are the conditions for the fulfilment of their hopes and aspirations. They want an end to the defilement of American principles and traditions by the Johnson administration."

The Worker,
May 1, 1966, p. 3.

6. Not Much Difference between Gas Ovens and Napalm

"The aggressive war policy of the Johnson Administration brings death and maiming to thousands of Americans and ruin and devastation to Vietnam. . . .

"The Johnson policy of aggression threatens the American people with the kind of catastrophe that Hitler's policy of aggression did bring the German people. "

Herbert Aptheker, "Vietnam: An
Eyewitness Report," Political
Affairs, February, 1966, pp. 47-48.

"...there is not much difference between the gas ovens of Germany and the napalm we use in Vietnam..."

The Worker,
April 5, 1966, p. 3.

"...When they burned six million Jews in crematoria? How does that differ essentially from joyously burning Vietnamese in straw-thatched huts..."

The Worker,
May 8, 1966, p. 6.

"WHEN NAZI AIRMEN loosed saturation bombing on British cities in World War II, slaughtering women, children and old men and laying waste to houses, the world was horrified. Nobody was taken in by Hitler's alibi that the reason for the mass murder was to force Britain to give up its resistance and come in a 'reasonable' posture to the conference table.

"Is there any difference between what the Nazis did then and what U.S. airmen, now under orders from the Johnson administration, are doing now to the cities of North and South Vietnam?"

The Worker,
June 7, 1966, p. 2.

7. Recognition of, Trade with, Seat in UN for Communist China

"The fight for peaceful coexistence also entails the fight for recognition of People's China, for its admission to the UN, and for an end to the senseless total embargo on trade with it. This, too, is part of the special responsibility which falls upon the people, and upon its progressive vanguard."

"National Liberation and the
Anti-Imperialist Struggle,"
Political Affairs,
February, 1966, p. 15.

"Our struggle to change the direction of U. S. foreign policy is to change it in the direction of coexistence. The struggle to bring our boys home from Vietnam; the demand to keep hands off the Dominican Republic; the recognition of People's China and its seating in the United Nations; the defense of the right of all peoples to self-determination--all these and more are in line with realizing in life the policy of peaceful coexistence...."

Gus Hall, "The Communist Party--a Review and Perspective," Political Affairs, May, 1966, p. 13.

8. Socialist Countries Would Aid China if U. S. Provoked War

"If the United States is banking on exploiting the ideological differences within the international Marxist movement, particularly those between People's China and the Soviet Union, to provoke a war with China falsely assuming that China will receive no aid from the socialist countries, it is under strong misapprehensions. And should the United States dare to employ nuclear weaponry, this will arouse the fury not alone of the socialist camp but of the entire world."

Betty Gannett, "The Genocidal War," Political Affairs, April, 1966, p. 28.

9. De Gaulle Visit Manifestation of Soundness of Soviet Policy of Peaceful Coexistence

"THE VISIT of French President Charles DeGaulle to the Soviet Union is the latest manifestation of the soundness of the Soviet Union's policy of peaceful coexistence. It also reveals most dramatically the bankruptcy of Washington's foreign policy of anti-Sovietism, anti-communism. And it is a vivid expression of the revolt of the capitalist governments of western Europe against the disastrous and dangerous policy of the Johnson administration."

"... The capitalist governments of western Europe want to reestablish friendly relations with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries of Europe; they want to expand East-West trade, and they want to develop further cultural contacts.

"The Soviet Union, with its policy of peaceful coexistence has always sought this... For a long time, the Soviet Union has tried to press for peaceful coexistence with the U.S., with little encouragement from Washington."

"The governments of western Europe do not wish any longer to be tied to Washington's policy, because of their fear of becoming involved in war, because they are afraid of the U.S.'s shaky financial situation internationally, and because they want to improve trade relations with the socialist countries to overcome their own economic situation.

"They have become fearful that if they continue to tie their own currency to the U.S. dollar, they will face financial catastrophe."

The Worker,
June 28, 1966, p. 3.

10. Demand End of War in Vietnam

"The struggle to end the war in Vietnam before it engulfs Asia and the world remains the foremost task of every man, women, and child."

Betty Gannett, "The Genocidal War,"
Political Affairs, April, 1966, p. 30.

"Every American, who cherishes his fellow-man, must protest openly and with all his strength the continuation of the bombings, and demand that they be halted at once. Only thus can we retrieve our membership in the human race."

The Worker,
June 7, 1966, p. 2.

II. DOMESTIC ISSUES--The Communist Party Line

1. Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach and FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover should be removed from office because of inaction on behalf of Negroes assaulted in the Mississippi march.
2. Secretary of State Dean Rusk is President Johnson's traveling salesman for war. Should he not be replaced by an advocate of peace, who will represent the true interests of the American people?
3. The time has come for all those who want an alternative to the candidacy of President Johnson in 1968 to prepare to present an independent candidate for president.
4. The "Great Society" is being sacrificed on the altar of the Vietnam war.
5. The most conspicuous feature of American capitalist society is the gap between its potential and its actual performance.
6. Under socialism, the Nation's resources and control of its political institutions would be administered for the common good instead of for private profit. Socialism will come when the majority of the American people are convinced that there is no other solution to their problems.
7. The peace movement has become a powerful factor that no political force can afford to ignore. Those who rejected Goldwater in 1964 can end the war in 1966.
8. While communists believe in the maximum struggle within the present two-party system, the desired goal is the creation of a new people's party. Its program would

challenge monopoly on foreign policy, economic abundance, equality, and expanding democracy.

9. The police, in protecting "downtown" ruling-class interests, subject residents of the ghetto to brutal assaults upon their persons and dignity, and frequently upon their lives.
10. Crime is disappearing in the Soviet Union.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Oust Attorney General Katzenbach and FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover

"THE COMMUNIST PARTY ended its tumultuous five-day 18th National Convention Sunday..."

"...the convention voted to send President Johnson a telegram demanding the ousters of Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach and FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover for their inaction on behalf of Negroes assaulted in the Mississippi march. The telegram also demanded that the government come to the aid of Southern Negroes exercising their constitutional rights."

The Worker,
June 28, 1966, pp. 1, 6.

2. About Time To Fire Secretary of State Dean Rusk?

"SECRETARY OF STATE Dean Rusk, who is President Johnson's traveling salesman for war..."

"In dashing the hopes of the American people and the world for a quick Vietnam peace, Rusk reiterated the ridiculous argument that North Vietnam 'is not going to be permitted to seize South Vietnam by force.' Rusk obviously has only contempt for the intelligence of the American

people. Everybody knows that the people fighting U. S. troops on the battlefield and in the streets of South Vietnam's cities are South-Vietnamese patriots seeking freedom and independence from U. S. imperialism...."

"...Everywhere Rusk goes he is met with rebuffs. Nobody wants any part of President Johnson's war.

"Isn't it about time that this arrogant salesman of war be fired and replaced by an advocate of peace, who will represent the true interests of the American people and all humanity? Rusk does not speak for the people of the U. S. The great majority who want peace must speak for themselves."

The Worker,
June 28, 1966, p. 2.

3. An Independent Candidate for President in 1968

"... it is not a foregone conclusion that President Johnson will be the Democratic Party candidate in the 1968 election...."

" 'Many political independents... are raising the need for an alternative Presidential candidate, 'an alternative for peace, '...'

" 'Therefore, the time has come for all organizations and individuals who are for an alternative to gather their forces now, to prepare and set in motion the movement that will present to our people an independent candidate for President. '

" 'Such a campaign started now can also serve as an effective mobilization for peace. '

" 'The way to prepare for 1968 is to elect the candidates for peace, Negro and labor and Left candidates in 1966. ' 'Defeating the candidates of the ultra-Right in 1966 is a necessary preparation for 1968. ' "

The Worker,
June 26, 1966, p. 2.

4. Great Society Sacrificed for War in Vietnam

"LBJ's Budget Cheats Poor to Escalate War"

"From its very beginning, the President's budget message is a cynical sacrifice of the 'Great Society' on the altar of the Vietnam war."

The Worker,
January 30, 1966, p. 1.

"... the first demand for the people's good--at home, as well as abroad--is the demand to end the U. S. war in Vietnam."

The Worker,
April 26, 1966, p. 2.

"The American people... want U.S. troops withdrawn from Vietnam now.

"... They want a chance to achieve for themselves and their families the better life that the resources and the treasures of their country should afford them. They want the freedom and the equality that are the conditions for the fulfilment of their hopes and aspirations...."

The Worker,
May 1, 1966, p. 3.

5. Gap between Country's Potential and Actual Performance

"THE MOST conspicuous feature of American capitalist society is the gap between its potential and its actual performance...."

"IN AN ECONOMY of abundance only social inequity can produce poverty. In this sense the very achievements of American capitalism rise up to accuse it. Here each mal-nourished child, each substandard dwelling is a witness to the defects of the social system because the capacity to produce food is so abundant."

The Worker,
January 2, 1966, p. 9.

" 'Americans...are deeply discontented with the gap between our country's potential and its actual performance...'. The means of the nation's livelihood 'are employed by a handful of financial-industrial monopolies for their own profit instead of the public good.' "

The Worker,
March 6, 1966, p. 8.

6. Socialism Is the Solution

"...there are 70 million Americans who live on the level designated as poverty and deprivation...there is one family group that owns or decisively controls...total worth of...over 61 billion dollars...."

"We view socialism as a logical solution to this basic contradiction that produces such monstrous abnormality. The solution is to synchronize the social production with social ownership and distribution.

"...socialism cannot be imported. Social revolutions cannot be made or ordered. Socialism will be on the order of the day when the majority of Americans are convinced that there is no other solution to their problems. At that point no power on earth can stop it."

"Our very basic and historic point of reference is that capitalism as a system is on the way out and socialism as a system is on the way in."

The Worker,
January 2, 1966, p. 9.

" 'To realize the country's enormous promise the American people must wrest ownership of its resources and control of its political institutions from the corporate power and administer them for the common good instead of private profit. This would be socialism. This we advocate.' "

The Worker,
March 6, 1966, p. 8.

7. Peace Movement Politically Significant

"...the peace sentiment, the active movement has become a powerful political factor that no political force can afford to ignore. It is without precedent when on a critical question of foreign policy involving our country in a war the number of people actively in motion against this policy is larger than those actively supporting such a policy."

The Worker,
January 30, 1966, p. 3.

"Although the Negro freedom movement is the most dramatic expression of change on the national scene, it is not the only one. Highly significant is the movement for peace. . . . This movement is doubly significant because it challenges the corporate Establishment on the most sensitive, most important issue of our time. Both in scope and level of consciousness it exceeds all prior peace efforts since the cold war began."

The Worker,
March 27, 1966, p. 8.

"The situation cries out for a people's peace coalition at the polls in the primaries and in the general elections in November that can elect a substantial bloc of peace candidates, retire the war-hawks Congress, prevent more hawks from flying in, and compel Administration supporters to choose between coming into collision with the President or their constituents.

"Such a people's coalition should fight for an immediate end to the war in Vietnam, on the streets, in the shops, in the churches and synagogues, in the colleges and high schools as it prepares to march to the polls."

"The American people, who in 1964 rejected Goldwater's itchy finger on the atomic trigger, can end Johnson's war in 1966."

The Worker,
April 19, 1966, p. 2.

"THE 1966 DEMOCRATIC primaries will above all be remembered as those that ushered in two new potent political forces -- the newly-enfranchised Negro vote in the South and the peace vote nationally...."

"...the primary results in Texas and Alabama provided dramatic proof of the emergence of a force which in alliance with other progressive forces can profoundly change the political picture in the South as well as the nation."

The Worker,
May 15, 1966, p. 1.

8. New People's Party Required

"...what is required, as we Communists have long pointed out, is to build a new people's party. But conditions have not ripened to the point where this objective can be carried out. Meanwhile, therefore, civil rights, peace and labor forces in every area need to come together and map out plans on how to deal with the immediate situation, doing those things that are possible and practical as of now."

Claude Lightfoot, "Civil Rights: A New Phase,"
Political Affairs,
April, 1966, p. 12.

"We are for the maximum political struggle possible within the present two-party vise, but the historical direction we see in this struggle, the desired goal, is creation of a new people's party. Whether this party, virtually upon birth, becomes one of two major parties, or is a third party, or is one among several, will be determined by history and is not, at the moment, the important thing...."

"Its components will be drawn from the forces arrayed against monopoly: the working class, the Negro people, independent farmers; intellectuals, professionals, small businessmen and other middle strata; youth and other groups."

" 'Its form will be democratic....

" 'Its program will challenge monopoly on the fundamental and critical issues: foreign policy, economic abundance and security for all, substantive equality, and expanding democracy.' "

The Worker,
May 3, 1966, p. 6.

9. Police Defenders of Ruling-Class Interests

"...The police who patrol the Negro sections and communities operate as defenders of property and the privileges of the 'downtown' ruling class interests. They are committed to defense of the Establishment through subjecting the people of the slums to endless and brutal assaults upon their dignity, their lives and liberties with billy and pistol and arbitrary acts of arrest of innocents."

James E. Jackson, "Class Confrontation in Freedom Struggle," Political Affairs, February, 1966, p. 35.

"...Police patrol Negro communities as defenders of property and the privileges of "downtown" business interests. In the ghetto they appear as the army of occupation of the corporate Establishment, subjecting residents to arbitrary arrests, to brutal assaults upon their persons and dignity, and frequently upon their lives....' "

The Worker,
April 10, 1966, p. 8.

10. Crime Alien to Socialist Society

"Crime is Disappearing in the USSR--Where One Felony Is 'Too Many' "

"Spokesmen for the USSR take the basic view that crime is alien to a socialist society and that whatever there is can be mainly traced to vestiges of the old society.

"We in turn recognize three main causes of crime: poverty, mental maladjustment and organized crime.

"Emphasis in the Soviet Union is upon education first, the elimination of causes, then apprehension. In the U.S. the emphasis is mainly on prevention by police activities and apprehension. There is little activity in the field of prevention or education.

"In the main, the crimes with which the Soviet Union are concerned are: hooliganism, while under the influence of alcohol; joy-riding by young persons; petty burglaries, mostly of homes, some purse snatching and infrequent cases of rape. In a similar calendar year, Moscow reported 2,000 cases of burglary and robbery, against 40,000 in N.Y. City."

The Worker,
February 20, 1966, p. 6.

III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY--The Communist Party Line

1. The working people are saddled with the cost of the war while the profits of the corporations are escalating.
2. The labor movement needs to organize a year-round strictly independent political action machinery from the precinct up.
3. Long, stubborn, and militant strikes are necessary if labor is to accomplish its goals.
4. All people interested in progress should back the situs picket bill.
5. Workers in light industry should be organized in the North and the South. Such organizing could help alleviate some of the worst features of ghetto life in the North and would gain some local white support for the Negro freedom fighters in the South. The status of agricultural workers will be improved if their right to organize is protected.
6. Negroes are predominantly working-class people. Labor and Negroes, having common goals, are destined to march together.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Working People Saddled with Cost of War

"THE RISE in the cost of living the last two months, biggest since 1958, is the latest demonstration that President Johnson's Vietnam policy is not one of 'guns and butter,' but rather one of guns and profits for the monopolies. Just as on the battlefields of Vietnam, the Johnson administration is making the working people sacrifice their sons and brothers, so at home is it saddling them with the cost of the war."

"...as the result of the recent rise in the cost of living and the increase in the Social Security tax, the wage of the average factory worker was less in March than it was a year ago."

"But while this was happening to the working people, the profits of the corporations were escalating along with President Johnson's reckless escalation of his war in Vietnam..."

The Worker,
April 26, 1966, p. 2.

"War-time profits--an all-time high,
Bankers' moneybags piled to the sky
BUT NO MORE MEAT FOR OUR THINNED-OUT STEW
For wages: must stay at **THREE POINT TWO!**"

"There's billions for missiles and men in space
For horror-bombs in the Great Arms Race
So there's not much left for me. Or YOU--
Just higher taxes and **THREE POINT TWO.**"

The Worker,
June 5, 1966, pp. 6, 7.

2. Independent Political Action Needed

"It... appears that the Administration was not too anxious to get 14b repealed for its narrower political reasons. For many years the Democrats, to catch labor votes, made the most of promises to repeal the whole Taft-Hartley Law. But many of them shuddered at the thought that the law should be repealed since a good vote-catcher would be lost in the process. Repeal of Taft-Hartley was steadily getting farther away from reality as even the best 'friends of labor' balked. So labor concentrated on 14b, just a fraction of T-H. But now it seems that at least some Democrats regard 14b as a good hook for keeping labor politically on the leash."

"The labor movement will not even begin to make substantial headway for its own interest until the trade unions at least carry out their long-standing but forgotten program for organizing a year-round

strictly independent political action machinery from the precinct up. . . . To make matters even worse, labor's leadership doesn't even play hard-to-get. "

The Worker,
February 20, 1966, p. 5.

3. Long, Stubborn, Militant Strikes

"... The days of easy victories are over. Labor will get only that for which it is prepared to wage long, stubborn and militant strikes. This does not mean that every wage negotiation will lead to a strike. In many instances strikes will be unnecessary if the employers and the government know that labor is prepared to do what the transport workers did--confront them with working-class power...."

Claude Lightfoot, "Civil Rights:
A New Phase," Political Affairs,
April, 1966, p. 8.

4. Those Interested in Progress Should Back Situs Picket Bill

"The situs picket bill would nullify a court ruling of the fifties that bars unions from picketing a site on which non-striking trades and unions are at work. . . .

"There can be no doubt that the proposed situs bill is a step to strengthen unionism and the forces of progress and should be backed by all people interested in progress. . . . it should be pointed out that the Johnson Administration's cool recommendation of the bill is strictly from the standpoint of paying a debt--at least that debt in the absence of delivery on Sec. 14b. "

The Worker,
May 22, 1966, p. 5.

5. Organize the Unorganized

"... Throughout the country, North and South, there are millions of unorganized workers, employed largely in service industries. A drive to organize these workers would especially help to raise the income level

in the ghetto. If the organization of the mass-production industries in the thirties was the impetus for labor's role in the general democratic struggle then, the drive to organize the unorganized in light industry and especially in the South could provide the spark which could overnight change labor's role in the general democratic advance today."

"...An organizing drive in the South will bring up reserves for the Negro freedom fighters who have not enjoyed any substantial support from the local white population. An organizing drive in the North can help alleviate some of the worst features of ghetto life. Both can combine to bring labor into a qualitatively new relationship with the Negro people's movement...."

Claude Lightfoot, "Civil Rights:
A New Phase," Political Affairs,
April, 1966, pp. 9, 10.

"Any renovation of agriculture requires a radical change in the status of agricultural workers. Starvation wages, less than \$8 a day and averaging little more than \$1,000 a year--well below any official poverty yardstick--are the rule for agricultural workers. Protection of their rights to organize into unions, extension of all social welfare and labor-protective legislation to cover them, and large-scale government projects to overcome the abysmal deficit in rural social services are minimum measures.' "

The Worker,
April 19, 1966, p. 6.

6. Labor and Negro People Destined To March Together

"Negro Americans of all classes are compelled to enter into the struggle against racial discrimination and its social consequences. However, the fact that the Negro people are predominantly working-class will increasingly influence the program and goals of the Negro people's movement, the strategy and tactics of the struggle, as well as assure the permanent nature of the alliance with the organized labor movement. Indeed, labor and the Negro people are destined to march together in pursuit of a common future free of capitalist exploitation and capitalist racial oppression.

"Because of the high working-class composition of the Negro people and the strength of the Negro workers in key areas of the economy, the freedom struggle of the Negro people presents itself as a vital front of the anti-monopoly struggle.* It is geared into the tasks related to the fulfillment of the historic goal of the working class, that is, to effect the transformation of society from capitalist to socialist. The freedom objectives of the Negro people directly benefit the working class and serve the democratic interest of the whole nation."

James E. Jackson, "Class
Confrontation in Freedom Struggle,"
Political Affairs,
February, 1966, pp. 37 - 38.

" 'In both the labor and freedom movements there is a growing awareness of the necessity for alliance. '

" 'Labor and the Negro people have a joint stake in destroying the Dixiecrat power, in democratizing the South, in eliminating the potent Dixiecrat influence in national political life. '

" 'Labor and the Negro people have a joint stake in the defeat of the ultra-Right. '

" 'Labor and the Negro people have a joint stake in the progressive redevelopment of municipal politics. '

" 'Labor and the Negro people have a joint stake in a broad range of social welfare legislation, from full employment measures to largescale construction of homes, schools, and hospitals. ' "

The Worker,
March 27, 1966, p. 8.

"A firm Negro-labor alliance in the major cities of the North, as in the South, can lead to election of Negroes as mayors and to important state and county offices, and to a considerable expansion in the number of Negro congressmen. Such a development would take us far beyond the achievements of the Reconstruction period. It would lay the basis for

*Underlined portion italicized in original.

accelerating the enforcement of laws already on the statute books, for the passage of new laws, and for ending tokenism.

"The key factor in this picture is the labor movement. As the struggle mounts on the economic and political fronts, the need for a closer alliance between the Negro and labor movements comes into ever sharper focus. The old alliances, which rested mainly on Negroes, students and church forces, will not suffice to meet the new problems. Just as in the economic struggles, so too in the established political organizations, the labor movement is the only pro-democratic, non-party organization with the resources, manpower and votes, as well as the money and know-how, to cope with the situation...."

Claude Lightfoot, "Civil Rights:
A New Phase," Political Affairs,
April, 1966, p. 14.

IV. AGRICULTURE--The Communist Party Line

1. Instead of curtailing farm output as surplus, the Government must establish mutually beneficial trade with the socialist world and foreign aid programs to feed the hungry millions in underdeveloped countries.
2. The Government must be compelled to help small farmers who want to stay on the farm. Among the necessary measures, there should be Federal guarantees of a minimum annual income adequate for a decent standard of living.
3. Small and middle farmers are no longer a leading force. Today, they need to be allied with the working class.
4. In a country with the most productive and abundant agriculture in the world, there is abject poverty among Negro farm laborers, tenants, and sharecroppers.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Change Foreign Policy; End "Surplus" Farm Output

"...government must be compelled to adopt a policy which puts an end to curtailing farm output as "surplus" when a majority of mankind is hungry and ill-clothed. This decision can be implemented by a fundamental change in foreign policy, which will open two outlets: free and mutually beneficial trade with the socialist world, and foreign aid programs that provide food for the hungry millions in underdeveloped countries instead of military hardware for tyrannical puppet regimes to suppress their peoples.' "

The Worker,
April 19, 1966, p. 6.

2. Help Small Farmer Who Wants To Stay on Land

" ' ARRAYED in the most unequal combat with monopoly is the family-sized farm operator,' states the new Draft Program of the Communist Party U. S. A. . . . "

" 'The farmer's life has been a struggle with monopoly as well as nature. . . . New machines, new chemical and biological aids increased agricultural yield--and decreased the small farmer's chance of survival. . . . It is increasingly a matter of being big or dead. Small farmers perish.

" ' . . . the independent farmer has had to wage tenacious battles against the banking, transportation, processing, public utilities and farm implement trusts. . . .

" 'Government programs that are supposed to redress the balance have, in fact, made it worse. The largest benefits go to the largest operators, improving their competitive position and worsening that of the small farmers. ' "

" ' . . . government must be compelled to adopt a policy to retain on the land those small producers who desire to remain there, instead of its present policy of eliminating small farmers. Such a policy can be implemented by substantial assistance to cooperatives, by providing access to credit and modern machinery, to storage, processing and marketing facilities; by measures assuring price parity, by federal guarantees of minimum annual income adequate for a decent standard of living. ' "

The Worker,
April 19, 1966, p. 6.

" ' . . . we propose:

" ' . . . extension of the guaranteed income principle to family-size farm operators to insure their productive tenure on the land. ' "

The Worker,
May 24, 1966, p. 6.

3. Farmers No Longer a Leading Force--Need Alliance with Working Class

" 'In waging their struggle for survival against monopoly, small and middle farmers face a different political reality than they did in times gone by. When a majority of the population was rural, when agrarian radicalism was a more vital factor in American life, farmers could conceive of themselves as the leading force in the battle with the trusts. Today this is clearly not so. They can only struggle effectively in alliance with the working class.' "

The Worker,
April 19, 1966, p. 6.

4. Abject Poverty Staple Crop of Negro in Agriculture

" 'For the 8% of the Negro people still remaining in agriculture--almost all as laborers, sharecroppers or tenants--abject poverty is the one staple crop.' "

The Worker,
April 10, 1966, p. 8.

" 'One of the sharpest indictments of U. S. monopoly capitalism is that the most productive and abundant agriculture in the world rests on a pit of human misery.... At the bottom depths are the remaining Negro tenants and sharecroppers in the South, and the larger numbers trying to subsist as agricultural wage laborers.' "

The Worker,
April 19, 1966, p. 6.

V. COLONIALISM--The Communist Party Line

1. The United States, Great Britain, and other Western powers have never reconciled themselves to the end of colonial rule in African nations. The overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah, of the Republic of Ghana, was a momentary victory for the Western powers.
2. Colonial liberation is made possible by the existence of the socialist world. There is a close relation between the socialist and anticolonialist revolutions. They reinforce each other.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Western Powers Welcomed Nkrumah's Overthrow

"It is obvious from the gleeful welcome by Washington and London of the military putsch in Ghana that they consider it a victory for imperialism over the forces seeking a non-capitalist path for the countries of Africa that had only recently wrested freedom from their colonialist oppressors in the capitalist world."

The Worker,
March 8, 1966, p. 4.

"The sordid machinations of world imperialism, against the sweep of national liberation on the continent of Africa, scored a momentary victory in the overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana."

"The imperialists in the United States, Great Britain and other Western powers, had never reconciled themselves to the destruction of colonial rule in African nations...."

"The Military Coup in Ghana,"
Political Affairs,
April, 1966, p. 1.

2. Socialist and Anticolonial Revolutions Reinforce Each Other

" 'The anti-colonial revolutions aim to destroy imperialist domination, feudal bondage and political tyranny. In the struggle for such aims a broad national unity is attainable, including capitalist elements who chafe under the oppressive restrictions of foreign monopoly. The attainment of such aims, progressive and liberating as they are, is not yet socialism. However, there is a close relation between the socialist and colonial revolutions.

" '1. Imperialism is the common enemy of both.

" '2. The speed and scope of the colonial liberation tide is made possible by the existence of the socialist world--by its revolutionary example, by its economic, diplomatic and military assistance, which greatly restricts imperialism's ability to suppress or strangle colonial revolutions....

" 'Thus, the two kinds of revolution typical of the age--socialist and anti-colonial--are distinct and yet interconnected parts of one vast revolutionary process. Each reinforces the other.' "

The Worker,
April 24, 1966, p. 8.

VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS--The Communist Party Line

1. Public needs should be met by shifting the tax burden to large corporate and private wealth.
2. There should be curbs on the power of money in political campaigns. These must include limitation on expenditures and full disclosure of their sources, prohibition of the purchase of radio and television time or advertising space, and equal access to these mass media for competing candidates.
3. Congress should repeal the McCarran Act, the Smith Act, the Landrum-Griffin Act, the Taft-Hartley Act, and the Communist Control Act and abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.
4. The Supreme Court is the highest authority in the U. S. legal system, but the entire court system is an arm of the Establishment.
5. A lasting victory over the McCarran Act can be assured only if the American people are aroused to take a stand against this Act.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Shift Tax Burden to Large Corporate and Private Wealth

"... Let the public needs be met by increased taxes on corporation profits."

The Worker,
April 26, 1966, p. 2.

"...we propose:"

" 'Radical tax reform to shift the burden to large corporate and private wealth; use of federal and state taxing powers to induce and require re-direction of the flow of corporate investment so as to assist regional development in the South, the Appalachias and all depressed areas, with adequate protection for union rights and workers' conditions.' "

The Worker,
May 24, 1966, p. 6.

2. Curb Power of Money in Electoral Process

"...we propose:"

" 'Curbs on the power of money in the electoral process, which means: drastic limitations on campaign expenditures and full disclosure of their sources; prohibition of the purchase of radio and TV time or advertising space for campaign purposes and guaranteeing equal access to the mass media for competing candidates and parties. These measures should supplement the breakup of monopolies in the mass media...' "

The Worker,
May 24, 1966, p. 6.

3. A Clean Sweep of Network of Unconstitutional Laws

" '...Congress should repeal the McCarran Act, the Smith Act, the Landrum-Griffin Act, the Taft-Hartley Act, the Communist Control Act, abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, and the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee.

" 'Only a clean-sweep of this network of anti-democratic, unconstitutional laws can provide a longer range safeguard for democratic liberties in our country.' "

The Worker,
May 8, 1966, p. 1.

4. Entire Court System an Arm of Establishment

"The Supreme Court is important as the highest authority in the U.S. legal system. But, as Marxists are aware, the entire court system is an arm of the Establishment. . . ."

Bertha Clara Colon, "Put the
McCarran Act on Trial,"
Political Affairs,
January, 1966, p. 33.

5. Lasting Victory over McCarran Act Depends on American Public

"... a genuine and lasting victory over the McCarran Act can be assured only if, in addition to the legal defense, the American public is aroused to take the offensive against this law."

"It is not enough to carry the fight even to the Supreme Court. Every monstrous aspect of the McCarran Act and every point in the defense brief must be brought to that court where they will* get due consideration, to the highest court in the land, the court of public opinion."*

Bertha Clara Colon, "Put the
McCarran Act on Trial,"
Political Affairs,
January, 1966, pp. 31, 33.

"Court Dismisses McCarran Case Against Gus Hall"

"It is a victory in a case that should never have been instituted. . . . The threat of possible future re-indictment under the McCarran Act further emphasizes that the struggle for democracy is everlasting. . . ."

"It is now necessary to mobilize greater pressure for the dismissal of all proceedings under the McCarran Act."

The Worker,
May 8, 1966, p. 1.

*Underlined portion italicized in original.

VII. ARMED FORCES--The Communist Party Line

1. There is no question that the vast majority of the young American GIs who are now involved in the Vietnam killing would like to get out.
2. Although Negroes are only 10 per cent of the population, 16 per cent of the draftees are Negro.
3. Young Americans are not fighting for any lofty purpose in Vietnam but are dying and killing to insure expanding U. S. capitalist investments and military domination in Southeast Asia.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Victims of Illegal Use of Draft Want To Get Out

"THE DISCLOSURE this week by the Pentagon that more than 1,000 officers had tried vainly to resign from the armed services in the year since President Johnson began his escalation in Vietnam shows how deeply hate of that dirty war has penetrated among the military men."

"If the officer corps is so permeated with the desire to get out of the killing in Vietnam, there is no question that the vast majority of the young American GIs, conscripted against their will, who are now involved in the Vietnam killing, would like to get out.

"They know that they are being sacrificed in a meaningless dirty war. The truth of the matter is that they are the victims of the Johnson administration's illegal use of the draft law."

The Worker,
May 3, 1966, p. 2.

2. Percentagewise More Negroes than Whites Drafted

"The war is not only maintaining the ghetto slums and ghetto walls but it is dipping more deeply into the ghettos for its draftees.

"Although the Negro people are only 10 percent of the population, their youths form 16 percent of the draftees."

The Worker,
February 13, 1966, p. 3.

"A Brooklyn clergyman... reported that the unemployment rate in his Negro community was twice that of the rate for the rest of N. Y. city. And this is true despite the fact that more Negro youths than white, percentage-wise, are being siphoned off for military service in Vietnam."

The Worker,
April 10, 1966, p. 3.

3. GIs Dying To Secure Capitalist Investments and Military Domination

"Young American GIs are dying and killing in South Vietnam, not for any lofty purpose, not to secure 'freedom of choice' for the Vietnamese, but to insure expanding U.S. capitalist investments and military domination in Southeast Asia.

"If the people of Vietnam are to be free to choose their way of life the U.S. -waged war in their country must be ended and all foreign troops withdrawn.

"The interests of the American people as well as those in Vietnam and all the rest of the world make this the only acceptable choice."

The Worker,
March 22, 1966, p. 2.

VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS--The Communist Party Line

1. The Communist Party must come forward as the best fighter for Negro equality.
2. Washington wages war against darker-skinned people in Vietnam and elsewhere in the world and then tries to conceal its hypocrisy on civil rights.
3. Negro communists must combat the negative aspects of Negro nationalism. The new stage of the civil rights struggle is concerned with the essence of political power, not with merely formal integration.
4. As long as the danger of the ultra-Right exists, the danger of a violent outbreak of anti-Semitism exists.
5. We are at a new stage in the struggle. This is the crossroads where the civil rights struggle meets the class struggle. In order to wipe out the economic discrimination against and social deprivation of Negro Americans, it is necessary to enter into struggle against the economic and political pillars of monopoly capitalism itself.
6. Most of the budget is spent for war purposes and very little for the enforcement of the civil rights of Negroes and of other minority groups.
7. Thousands of young Negro and white men are being sacrificed in Vietnam supposedly to defend freedom and democracy. They should be brought home to defend freedom and democracy in Mississippi.
8. The police throughout the Nation practice brutality against Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and the poor of every nationality.
9. Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans suffer repression similar to that suffered by the Negro. In some ways, the Indians suffer most of all.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Communists Must Take Lead in Fight for Negro Equality

" 'Our Party must come forward as the best fighter for Negro equality, '...'"

" 'The emergence of a new level of political consciousness makes possible and demands the elevation of the fight against white chauvinism to a new plane. Communists must take the lead in this...'"

The Worker,
June 28, 1966, p. 4.

2. Vietnam War a War against Darker-Skinned People

"THE JOHNSON administration last weekend tried to keep U. S. civil rights leaders from rallying international support to the Negro people's struggle for economic, social and political equality in the U. S. . . ."

"The Johnson administration is obviously afraid that people in other countries will learn first hand about Washington's hypocrisy on civil rights in the U. S. while it pushes its dirty war against the darker-skinned peoples in Vietnam and elsewhere in the world."

The Worker,
March 29, 1966, p. 2.

"Capitalism, forsaking the appeal to reason appeals to 'prejudice, to fear, to jingoism, '... It seeks to 'create suspicion and mistrust. '

" 'The idea that it is all right to burn villages with women and children in Vietnam because they are a colored people' . . . 'is both an

appeal to those who have been raised on the poison of white supremacy, and an effort to spread the ideology of racist white chauvinism in greater degree to other sections of the population.' "

The Worker,
June 28, 1966, p. 4.

3. Negro Nationalism

" 'The civil rights movement, the struggle for full political, social and economic rights, has now entered upon a new stage, '...it must now move into the realm of economic and political equality.' This includes 'jobs, promotions, equality in professions, in business,' an 'end to the lucrative discriminatory practices in prices, rents, interest rates, insurance rates.'

" 'It means one vote for one man. It means Negro public officials on all levels.'

" 'The key to victory... 'lies in the fact that the working class, Negro and white, is coming eyeball to eyeball with the same foes as the civil rights movement.'

" 'The new stage of struggle for civil rights... is concerned with the 'essence of political power, with the essence of economic equality,' not with merely formal integration.

" '... 'emotion being displayed in the press about the fact that some Negro leaders have been calling for a buildup of political power based on local levels where Negro voters constitute a majority.' "

" 'Where Negro citizens are in the majority they must have the right to exercise that power.'

" 'In political subdivisions where the relationship is reversed, the question on the rights of a minority, of political equality, becomes the main issue.' "

The Worker,
June 26, 1966, p. 2.

"... Negro Communists must energetically combat the separatist negative aspects of Negro nationalism."

The Worker,
June 28, 1966, p. 4.

4. Anti-Semitism

"Anti-Semitism--Poison Dart in the Ultra-Right Arsenal

" 'ANTI-SEMITISM is a central part of the ideological stock-in-trade of the fascist, racist ultra-Right.

" 'The John Birch Society, the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens Council--all are purveyors of the most vicious kind of anti-Semitism. The ultra-Right is flooding the country with a mess of anti-Semitic filth, and is inspiring the defacing of synagogues and other such acts of vandalism.

" 'Accompanying this is the "respectable" anti-Semitism which continues to be widespread and which discriminates against Jews in employment, in housing, in education. It offers fuel for the potential forest fire of rabid violent anti-Semitism which the ultra-Right seeks to fan.

" 'All of the ultra-Right organizations are fed on white chauvinism, anti-Semitism and anti-Communism. As long as the danger of the ultra-Right exists, the danger of the open, violent outbreak of anti-Semitism exists. And not only here in the U. S. A. , but also in places like West Germany and Argentina.

" 'Such propagation of anti-Semitism is not spontaneous; it is consciously and deliberately fostered as an essential part of the ideology of the waging of racist wars of aggression and the rearming and renazification of a revanchist, warlike West Germany. And no amount of cold-war diversion can cover up this fact.

" 'Our Party must dig out any and all signs of complacency about this dangerous appeal to backwardness.'

"--from Gus Hall's report to the Communist Party's national convention."

The Worker,
June 28, 1966, p. 4.

5. At the Crossroads--The Civil Rights Struggle Meets the Class Struggle

"...Watts exposed not the poverty resulting from a plantation system, but rather the generations of poverty and rejection, the exploitation and the discrimination, by the industrial capitalist system."

"THERE ARE ghettos because of segregation, but the ghettos are slums because of the economic barriers, because of the walls of discrimination.

"THE ROOT of the economic barrier is the discrimination in hiring by industry, by professions. It is in the discrimination in advancement and promotion.

"We are at a new stage in the struggle, because this is the crossroads where the Civil Rights struggle meets the class struggle. Here is where the demand for equality comes in contact with, and challenges, the profit structure. Here it is easier to see where the roots of Jim Crow are. They are rooted in the class structure of capitalism.

"For this part of the struggle there is a need for new demands and new alliances. Some who could see the immorality of discrimination in what they considered the public domain are not ready to place that label on discrimination in the private profit domain. Therefore they will not be as reliable an ally as in past stages. Besides new alliances and demands, no doubt new forms and new methods will also arise. It is clear that here the role of the working class becomes crucial and the Negro-labor alliance decisive and imperative."

The Worker,
February 13, 1966, pp. 5 - 9.

"To secure the scale of anti-poverty program needed to wipe out the economic discrimination and social deprivation of Negro Americans is to make an assault upon the profit-grabbing of the corporations and the trusts, is to enter into struggle against the economic and political pillars of monopoly capitalism itself."

James E. Jackson, "Class
Confrontation in Freedom Struggle,"
Political Affairs, February, 1966,
pp. 38-39.

" 'Racist laws, discriminatory customs and poverty conspire to segregate Negro Americans in the most depressed areas. Urban ghettos and rural slums are their home communities. These, segregated islands in larger communities are systematically cheated of their just share of housing, parks, recreational facilities, street maintenance, hospitals and medical care, schools, cultural centers, and other social services.

" 'The only municipal service that is supplied in abundance is police surveillance. Police patrol Negro communities as defenders of property and the privileges of "downtown" business interests. In the ghetto they appear as the army of occupation of the corporate Establishment, subjecting residents to arbitrary arrests, to brutal assaults upon their persons and dignity, and frequently upon their lives. . . . ' "

The Worker,
April 10, 1966, p. 8.

6. Rights of Negroes and Other Minority Groups Sacrificed for
Vietnam War

"... The Johnson administration is too busy sending young American GIs to Vietnam to kill and be killed to concern itself about the horrors of the Negro people's life in the South.

"Every American concerned about his nation's existence should write the President demanding that he use his authority immediately

to halt the terror in the South and assure the Negro people the protection of their lives and property."

The Worker,
January 23, 1966, p. 3.

"The budget...revealed a total lack of concern by the President for his responsibility to enforce civil rights for the long-suffering Negro people."

"More than 69 percent goes for war purposes...and less than one-half of one percent of the total budget will be spent for the enforcement of the civil rights of the Negro people and minority groups."

The Worker,
January 30, 1966, p. 1.

"...The Negro people are learning daily that their aspirations for economic, political and social equality are being sacrificed on the bloody altar of Johnson's war in Vietnam."

The Worker,
May 1, 1966, p. 3.

"Festering ghettos in every town,
Prices are up but wages stay down
And housing must wait til this war is through
While wages stay put at THREE POINT TWO."

The Worker,
June 5, 1966, p. 7.

7. Let U.S. Troops Defend Freedom and Democracy in Mississippi

"Why was Meredith shot? Because he had dared to march through Mississippi to defend the rights of all Americans under the Constitution, to

promote free elections in that state. Because by his actions he symbolized the onward march of freedom throughout the country.

"But Johnson, who is sacrificing thousands of young Negro and white GIs in Vietnam with the phony excuse that they are there to defend democracy and freedom, did not send Federal troops to Mississippi to prevent the attempted assassination of James Meredith, or to defend freedom and democracy for the Negro people.

"He must do so at once. Let him bring home the young Negro GIs from Vietnam to defend their mothers and fathers, their sisters and brothers from the rabid white supremacists. Let him bring the young white GIs home from Vietnam and order them to defend freedom and democracy--in Mississippi.

"The lives and liberty of the Negro people are at stake. American democracy is at stake. The President must be forced to act now."

The Worker,
June 12, 1966, p. 3.

8. Police Brutality

"THE OUTRAGE committed against the Puerto Rican people by the Chicago police is the latest publicized example of the brutality of these 'servants' of the people throughout the nation against the Negro people, the Puerto Ricans and the poor of every nationality.

"The arrogant and criminal actions of police in all parts of the country have become so flagrant that in recent years the U.S. Supreme Court has found it necessary to hand down a number of decisions to curb the viciousness of the cops and their violations of civil rights."

The Worker,
June 19, 1966, p. 3.

9. Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, Indians

" 'THE POWER of monopoly is pervasive,' the new draft program

of the Communist Party declares. 'It is encountered at the approach to virtually every social problem.' "

" 'Monopoly is the principal exploiter and oppressor of the Negro people'...It perpetuates 'segregation and discrimination.' 'For monopoly, the super-exploitation of Negro Labor means billions of dollars in extra profit.' 'Additional billions' are extracted through 'extortionate rents and prices in the ghettos,' and through credit-usury. "

" '...Among Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American workers, levels of unemployment exist which easily match the worst years of the 1930's.' "

The Worker,
March 13, 1966, p. 8.

" '...With the direct intervention of the government our country's economic life is being totally directed into channels that serve the profit interests of the top money lords. State power is increasingly a direct economic factor--a powerful instrument for guaranteeing maximum profits to the biggest monopolies at the expense of the workers, the Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American peoples, the small farmers and small businessmen.' "

"Similar to the repression suffered by the Negro people...is the plight of the six million Mexican Americans and the one million Puerto Ricans in the U.S. The oppression of the Indians is 'in some ways the worst of all,'..."

The Worker,
June 26, 1966, p. 2.

IX. EDUCATION--The Communist Party Line

1. The Federal Government is not using its full police and economic power to end segregation in schools of the North or the South.
2. Communists propose equal educational opportunities for all and the acceptance of the principle of stipends for students.
3. Students struggling against the high cost of tuition might solve their problems through an alliance with the working class, looking toward the building of socialism.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Federal Government Stalling on Segregation in Schools

"As the years lengthen, it is becoming clearer every day that the federal government is stalling on segregation in the schools. It is not using its vast police and economic power to force the racist elements who control the school systems in the South and many places in the North to end educational segregation. The Department of Justice is dragging its feet on bringing into court the white-supremacists who are violating the Supreme Court's school desegregation order and the U. S. Constitution. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare is helping the racists get huge sums of federal money without really ending school Jimcrow.

"A speedy end to the Negro ghetto school system is a major test of President Johnson's oft-proclaimed commitment to full rights for the Negro people. Up to now he has flunked the test miserably.

"It is obvious that the President will have to feel the full blast of the pressure of the people before he will move adequately against the racists who are continuing this segregation of Negro school children.

"On the 12th anniversary of the Supreme Court decision, every American who cherishes democracy will vow to act with his neighbors

to force an end to this crime against all the children of our nation."

The Worker,
May 17, 1966, p. 2.

2. Stipends for Students

"We emphasize reforms that improve the economic well-being of the people, and enlarge their cultural and educational opportunities.. To this end we propose:"

" 'Equal educational opportunities for all, with acceptance of the principle of student stipends.' "

The Worker,
May 24, 1966, p. 6.

3. Students' Alliance with Working Class and the Building of Socialism

"...the struggles of students against the high cost of tuition and militarism, would bring them into an alliance with working people to solve mutual problems and towards the building of socialism."

The Worker,
March 6, 1966, p. 3.

X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION--The Communist Party Line

1. Much of our art is preoccupied with the decadence of our society. While we live in an age of global transition, most artists see the ways of the past.
2. The feminization of the masculine is one of the symptoms of a growing decadence in American life.
3. The intellectual has become a glorified wage laborer. He has common interests with the working class in the assault against monopoly power.
4. Time and again socialist scientific men have demonstrated their superiority in space.
5. The American people welcome the banding together of clergymen to fight against the war in Vietnam.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Arts Preoccupied with Decadence

"The main feature of our arts is, I think, its preoccupation with the decadence of our society, its dehumanization. That is true of the novel particularly. Certainly that is true of the movies, TV, most of Broadway, as well as much of the off-Broadway stage...the press and radio.

"We live in a time of global transition--but the ways of the past are still dominant, and that is what most artists see. Recognition of the new, that which is being born, is yet to come...."

The Worker,
June 5, 1966, p. 6.

2. Feminization of the Masculine a Symptom of Decadence

"One of the strange symptoms of a growing decadence in American life has been the feminization of the masculine. The hucksters of Madison Avenue are sweating hard to persuade the American male that he should wear sport jackets and shirts that are as feminine in styling as any Vassar girl's thing-um-a-jig.

"And the leaders of big business in barbering are also sweating out profusely to get men to go in for hair styling at \$7.50 and \$10 a hair cut, the way women have been robbed for years."

The Worker,
February 27, 1966, p. 5.

3. Increased Social Importance of Intellectual--His Common Cause with Working Class

"A MAJOR social development of recent decades, which the new Draft Program of the Communist Party, U. S. A., analyzes, is the 'intellectual-professional community.' The program declares:

" 'The new technology, the new status of science (largely due to its military utility), the affluence-fed growth of the academic establishment, the expansion of the mass communications media, the more systematic use of intellectual skills and disciplines in research and marketing, even the proliferation of governmental bureaucracy with the consequent need for more academically-trained personnel in the supervisory hierarchy--all these phenomena have led to a large numerical increase of the intellectual community and enhancement of its social role.

" 'Ironically, there has been a simultaneous growth of the dependence of the intellectual community upon corporate monopoly. Scientists, engineers and technicians; armies of motivational researchers, divers analysts of market economists and consumer psyches, economists, statisticians, advertising men and others engaged in the great American sell game; writing and performing talents employed in the television, film, radio and mass publishing industries--all are hired by giant corporations....

" 'The intellectual, pressed by monopoly into the status of glorified wage laborer, finds himself pitted in elementary economic conflict with corporate power....' "

• • • • •
" 'The very growth of the intellectual community in numbers and social importance creates a formidable material social force independent of the fundamental class forces in society....' "

• • • • •
" 'The intellectual plays a progressive historic role, not in splendid isolation from contending classes, but in common cause with that class and its allies, which in a given age represent the forward thrust of history. In our age, in the assault against monopoly power this means common cause with the working class and its allies.' "

The Worker,
April 24, 1966, p. 8.

4. Superiority of Socialist Scientists

"FOR THE FIRST TIME in its existence, Earth has made contact with another planet--Venus."

• • • • •
"It is significant that this great scientific fact was accomplished by socialist man in the Soviet Union.

"When the Soviet Union launched its first Sputnik earth satellite into space in October, 1957, many U.S. leaders either disbelieved it or scoffed at it as a scientific trick, without substance or importance.

"But time and again since then, socialist scientific men in the Soviet Union has demonstrated his superiority in space to capitalism's best in the U.S.

"Perhaps the U.S. could use a little socialism to solve the problems of space science."

The Worker,
March 6, 1966, p. 3.

5. The Clergy's Struggle for Peace in Southeast Asia

"THE AMERICAN PEOPLE welcome the banding together of clergy of all faiths to fight against the escalation of the war in South Vietnam and the resumption of the bombing of North Vietnam. The significance of the formation of the National Emergency Committee of Clergy Concerned About Vietnam is immeasurable in the struggle for peace in Southeast Asia."

The Worker,
January 23, 1966, p. 3.

XI. WOMEN--The Communist Party Line

1. Women are discriminated against in the labor market. They receive lower wages and are generally excluded from the leadership and from positions of influence even in unions where they are in the majority.
2. Women, the givers of life, condemn the war in Vietnam.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Women Discriminated against in Labor Market

" 'In the labor market women encounter varied forms of discrimination, the 'most common and most painful' of which is 'the payment of lower wages than men get for the same work or for work requiring comparable skill and exertion.' "

" 'Custom and practice... generally exclude women from leadership and positions of influence even in unions where they comprise a majority of the membership. ' "

The Worker,
April 3, 1966, p. 8.

2. Givers of Life Condemn LBJ's War

"The Givers of Life Condemn LBJ's War

"The Voice of Women--New England, affiliated with the Women's International League for Peace, declared in a Mother's Day telegram to President Johnson:

" 'As mothers and givers of life, we cannot condone your present policies leading to the death of all we hold dear' (in Vietnam.)"

The Worker,
May 15, 1966, p. 11.

XII. YOUTH--The Communist Party Line

1. The slaughter in Vietnam is stunting the flower of American and Vietnamese youth. Thousands of the Nation's youth are being sacrificed for the President's "honor" and Wall Street's profit.
2. Communists propose an end to the draft and the passage of a National Youth Act to ensure education and employment at decent wages for the younger generation.
3. During the past decade the young generation, particularly of the Negro people, have grown critical of capitalist society. The youth of this generation have generated a new probing of the path to socialism. The Party has increased its membership among the young people.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Nation's Youth Sacrificed for President's 'Honor' and Wall Street's Profit

"THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT last Tuesday reported 109 young American GIs killed in the Vietnam fighting and more than 700 wounded. They died or were maimed in the killing and wounding of scores of young Vietnamese fighting for their liberty.

"Was there not a future astronaut among them? Or a space scientist? Or a doctor? Or a builder of homes? Or a fashioner of complicated machinery to ease life on this planet?

"This senseless slaughter is stunting the flower of American and Vietnamese youth, mangling the future of humanity. And there will be no end to it, if President Johnson has his way and ships out hundreds of thousands more of the nation's youth to be sacrificed for his 'honor' and for Wall Street's profit.

"How long will the American people let this bloodletting continue?"

The Worker,
March 6, 1966, p. 3.

"The truth is that Washington had no business invading South Vietnam, that President Johnson is prosecuting an illegal and immoral war there, that thousands of young American GIs and scores of thousands of Vietnamese women, children and men are being killed and maimed to save Johnson's 'honor' and Wall Street's profits."

The Worker,
June 14, 1966, p. 2.

2. A National Youth Act

"We emphasize reforms that improve the economic well-being of the people, and enlarge their cultural and educational opportunities. To this end we propose: "

"An end to the draft, and passage of a National Youth Act that will ensure education, vocational training and employment at decent wages for the younger generation.' "

The Worker,
May 24, 1966, p. 6

3. Youth Probing Path to Socialism

"During the past decade the young generation, especially, of the Negro people, have gained a wide experience with the class* nature of the capitalist state* and how its police and court system defends its privilege and power. They have gained much experience in the matter of building organizations, cultivating unity, reaching out to forge alliances with a wide stratum of white people. They have, out of their experience, grown profoundly critical of the whole nature and structure of capitalist society. They seek a progressive alternative to capitalism. Now, as at no other time in its history, the Communist Party of the U. S. A. has the opportunity and duty to disclose the socialist alternative to the young generation, to bring

*Underlined portion italicized in original.

to the Negro militants the science of Marxism-Leninism to help illumine the way to lasting victory for the masses in the struggle for freedom, equality and justice. "

James E. Jackson, "Class
Confrontation in Freedom Struggle,"
Political Affairs,
February, 1966, p. 39.

"... It is particularly the youth, the young men and women of this generation, who broke with the silence of the McCarthy days. It is the Left youth of this generation who rejected the poison of big-lie anti-Communism. It is the advance sections of the youth of this generation that have sparked the civil rights drive, the struggle against the policy of U.S. imperialist aggression. It is the youth of this generation who have generated a new probing of the path to socialism...."

Gus Hall, "The Communist
Program--The Path Ahead,"
Political Affairs,
March, 1966, p. 8.

"... We have consolidated and unified our ranks, increased our membership--particularly among young people, and begun the steady climb upward. "

Gil Green, "Some Pre-Convention Thoughts,"
Political Affairs, June, 1966, p. 60.